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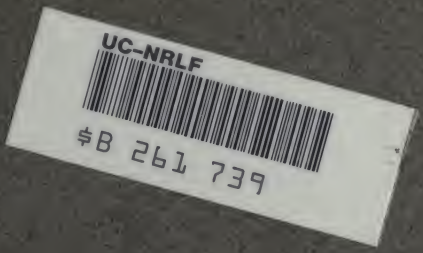

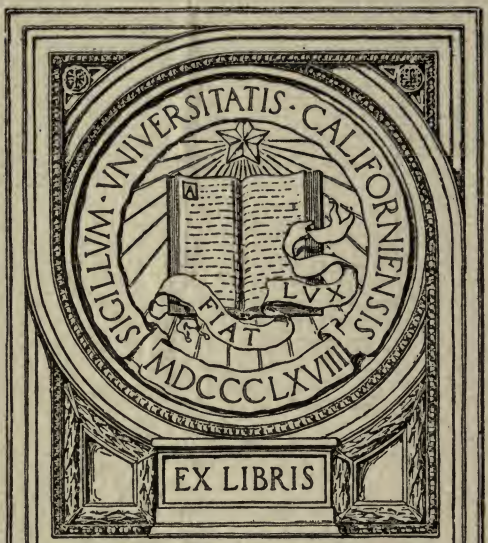
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National Service and ational Education

By Eric George

With an Introduction by
ORD HENRY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK, M.P.

The National Service League proposals examined in their relationship to the Nation's Social and Industrial welfare, and an alternative scheme put forward as a more profitable solution of our educational and military problems

LONDON
P. S. KING & SON
ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER
1913

NATIONAL SERVICE
AND
NATIONAL EDUCATION

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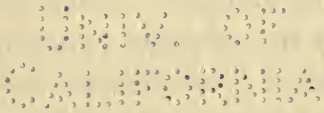

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"Social Reform is a preliminary to any thorough system of national defence."—LORD ROBERTS.

"The question of education is the most urgent of the great social problems with which Liberalism has to deal."—LORD HALDANE.

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE read this pamphlet with very great pleasure. It is refreshing to come across a writer who has a true appreciation of what the great need of the nation really is. The real danger to be faced is not, as bogey-mongers would have us believe, a mythical army of Germans, but the vast mass of ignorance and inefficiency which a wasteful and imperfect Education system has brought into being in our midst.

I am profoundly sceptical as to the possibility of invasion. The official statement that we should so organize our forces that if a raid were contemplated it should come in such numbers—say, 70,000 men—that the Navy could easily intercept it has been twisted into the probability of an invasion of 70,000 men. But the Defence Committee, it should be remembered, after surveying the whole situation came to the

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conclusion that the invasion of these islands is not an eventuality which we need seriously consider. In other words, our Navy is adequate to maintain the security of this island. But even were that in doubt, and should we be obliged to add to our defensive forces, the addition of a dozen submarines would be of far greater service than a land army of a million men. However, my opinion, whatever it may be worth, is that the danger of invasion was never more remote. The rise of the Balkan allies as a formidable military power has forced both Austria and Germany to give more anxious consideration to their own security, and in the event of a European war, Germany will be far too much occupied in guarding her own frontiers against Russia on the one side and France on the other to throw men away in hare-brained attempts to invade Great Britain. The recent revelations as to the manner in which the armament firms have exploited the national sentiment in Germany and France to their own advantage will, I hope, tend to keep in check both the war-

mongers and their dupes, and encourage those who are working for international goodwill and peace.

The benefit which the compulsory military training proposed by the National Service League would confer upon the physical welfare of the nation is much exaggerated. The National Service League does not make any definite provision for the training of youths under the age of 18, whereas it is well known if physical training is to be of any benefit it should be commenced at a much earlier age. The great defect of our education system is that the boy at 14, and often at 13, escapes from all discipline and educational influence. The great need of the time is for continuation schools, which, I think, might well be framed somewhat on the lines proposed in this pamphlet, and where, before he is tired out with his day's work, the youth of the nation shall receive that specialised and suitable education which shall equip him to fight the battle of life and become a complete and useful citizen. Into this

improved system, physical, and possibly some form of military, exercises, always under the control of the educational authorities, might be usefully added. If expense did not prove an insuperable barrier, a brief sojourn in a camp by the seaside or some healthy locality would prove, as it does to the Boys' Brigade, both enjoyable and salutary.

But the contention that the moral and intellectual welfare of our young people would be developed by putting them entirely into the hands of the drill-sergeant has only to be stated for its absurdity to be realized.

In conclusion, as the Consultative Committee of Continuation Schools pointed out, our object should be to give our young people a technical, physical, and general training which shall give adaptiveness and dexterity in handicraft, develop their bodily powers, broaden their mental outlook, enlarge their sympathies, and train their capacity for co-operation in civic welfare.

HENRY BENTINCK.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE question of how to remedy the inadequacy of our National Defences is at present very much to the fore. On the one hand we have the extremists, who rush to the conclusion that virtual conscription is the only remedy—those who say, Compel!—and on the other we have the advocates of the *laissez faire* policy, trusting to England's capacity for muddling through. We have "doctors disagreeing" in both camps, and the country does not know whom to believe or what to do. Hence no apology for putting before the public the effort of an independent observer, proposing something which does not claim to be entirely original except in the manner of its setting, in that it presents an alternative train of thought, and, freed from military bias,

treats the subject mainly from the educational and social standpoint. Hitherto, so far as I know, no serious attempt has been made to reconcile the commercial side of the country's activity with its military need; and it is consequently no wonder that the idea of National Service is unpopular. My object is to substitute for that of the League a scheme less likely to interfere with the commercial prosperity of the kingdom, combining with the military, an educational and social reform, which is equally a matter of urgency if we are to maintain our position of pre-eminence in the fields of commerce and of arms.

I suggest that a measure on these lines might form a compromise between such opposites as the present Liberal Government and the National Service League, Lord Haldane and Earl Roberts, and be passed almost immediately by mutual consent, without sacrifice of principles on either side. I believe that, in such an event, the nation would be behind them, and the question would

have been saved from becoming a party one, in which direction it seems now to be rapidly drifting.

This essay, begun when first *Compulsory Service* and *Fallacies and Facts* appeared, has only been completed as time between professional duties allowed; the reader's indulgence is therefore asked for its shortcomings as a literary study.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND NATIONAL EDUCATION

I

THE fire kindled some two years ago by Lord Roberts's *Fallacies and Facts* has recently been revived by his *Christmas Message to the Nation* and his new campaign on behalf of the National Service League. Interest in the question of Compulsory Military Service, which the splendid work of the League has kept smouldering in the interim is again being fanned into flame by the stirring words of the veteran soldier. The sentiments he expresses how noble! his persistence how persuasive! and his candour how refreshing, when compared with party oratory of which at the

present time we have much surfeiting! And yet before, when we read *Fallacies and Facts* in conjunction with the book to which it was a reply, the Haldane-Hamilton pamphlet *Compulsory Service*, we were not convinced; even if we did not agree with the *laissez faire* doctrine of the latter, we did not quite agree that a large compulsory army, such as the National Service League advocates, was either necessary or desirable for us. And now we read them again and are still unconvinced. We admire the sentiments; the proposals we dislike and mistrust; we would only accept them if they were the inevitable and only corollary to those sentiments.

How often is this the case! So long as men talk generalities they are applauded; but once let them commit themselves to a definite scheme they must make opponents where before were sympathizers. So it is with the National Service League; admiration for the unselfish work it is doing in its endeavour to press upon the nation the danger that lies in inaction

is apt to be lost in hostility to the programme which is set forth as the last word in military reorganization. It is a matter for regret that the League has committed itself to a definite scheme; but since it has done so it is impossible not to appear hostile, as I am convinced that their scheme, if adopted, is calculated to be to the general welfare of the community a curse rather than a blessing. With the principles, however, I am heartily in accord. They are thus set forth on their canvassing-cards:—

> "1. It is the duty of every able-bodied man, high or low, rich or poor, to defend his country in case of national danger.
>
> "2. To perform this duty efficiently he must be trained in time of peace."

None but the veriest anti-militarist would wish to dispute either of these statements. The need for training for war in the time of peace is accepted, as also the inadequacy of our present arrangements for ensuring that every one *can* do his duty. The Territorial Force is not even up to the minimum standard

set by Lord Haldane either in numbers or efficiency.

But the business men and artizans of the country alike view with something like alarm the commercial inconvenience and loss which would ensue if *men* [1] were taken away from their civil employment and turned to an unproductive and mentally unsettling occupation for a continuous period [2] at what is perhaps the most critical time in their industrial career; just as the thoughtful reader of history must be convinced that, bad though the rule of the demagogue is, it is incomparably worse when backed by an enormous standing army under military law. Men see the industrially ruinous effect of the Special Reserve training on young men, and draw the obvious analogy. Doctors know how large a proportion of the patients in hospitals suffering from incurable disease are ex-service men; just as lovers of "the open road" know that it is no exaggera-

[1] The age is 18 to 21 under the National Service League proposals.

[2] The National Service League proposes 4 to 6 months.

tion to say that half the men tramping the roads in England to-day are old soldiers or sailors, in spite of constant appeals and advertisements to induce employers to take them into their employ. Men know that the army training is not good for a man; that, generally speaking, it makes him unfit for anything but routine and unskilled work, and in fact *mars* more than it *makes*. Men foresee this perpetuated in every man in the land, having before them the lesson of the now nearly discarded three years' system, which takes the best years of a man's life, and gives him nothing in exchange but a superfluous smartness and an inability to act or think for himself. They see the working of conscription on the Continent with its effect of stereotyping character, and realize that there would be a danger of great interference with the industrial prosperity of the country, and of the spoiling of their sons, if any such system were adopted here. As a country we do not share the German adulation of uniform: for example, instead of appreciating the gravity of the offence

in the Koepenick and Strasburg cases, we only appreciate the humour.

In short, the proposals of the National Service League are unpopular; there is, and can be, outside military circles, no enthusiasm for them. From the military standpoint they seem altogether disproportionate to our need, and from the civil they appear likely to accomplish more harm than good. The visions Lord Roberts conjures up to his hearers of stronger and more capable citizens are but visions created by his enthusiasm for the cause and profession for which he has lived and to which he has been so conspicuous an ornament: they vanish in the daylight of existing facts and analogies.

Now the trend of recent legislation has been to force unwelcome Acts on the people governed, and that the enactment of the National Service League's proposals, as put forward in the Bill before the House of Lords in 1909, would be one other such case, is certain; and, unless we admit that democracy is a dis-

credited ideal,[1] to say the least, this does not accord with the boasted basis of our governmental institutions. Certain it is, too, that the Administration that placed these proposals on the statute-book would find therein its undoing; hence the virtual impossibility of ever getting them there. To make every one a soldier is as little the Englishman's ideal as it is to put his hand in his pocket for an object he hates. There could be here no plea of "9d. for 4d.," or still less a docile Irish vote to help the Bill through the Commons: the philosophers of the House of Lords could laud it to the skies, but the average British workman would consign it to Hades.

We are, then, in this position: we are not satisfied with the present condition of insecurity and doubt, but we almost prefer that to taking such a leap in the dark as the only really authoritative scheme yet presented would necessitate. And so the time is ripe for considering the question broadly; for, although the League pro-

[1] Even the Oxford Union Society disclaimed this by a fair majority in a debate some four years ago.

gramme is no doubt the well-considered plan of great men, it is possibly not the only solution. It is almost entirely a military scheme; the social and industrial aspects of the situation are almost neglected, and since we are not, and have no wish to be, a military nation,[1] except in so far as our existence demands it, the soldier's point of view is not necessarily the most suitable for the country.[2] If by other means, not only less commercially disadvantageous but actually beneficial both industrially and socially, we can meet the requirements of the military reformers, viz., bring the Territorial Force up to establishment and provide it with indefinite powers of expansion, and also make it thoroughly efficient,[3]

[1] Lord Roberts himself has expressed the same sentiment.

[2] The difference between the soldier's estimate of his own profession and the civilian's view of its value to the country is well illustrated by a remark of Lord Roberts in his speech at Manchester, October 25, 1912. Giving his reasons why the valour of our armies has been so distinguished "it was," he says, "that, in officers exclusively, and in the ranks mainly, they were composed of men who regarded citizenship as incomplete unless it involved soldiership."

[3] Lord Roberts has expressed himself as willing to be satisfied with this.

then surely the attempt is worth making, especially if the cost (and this not only of money, but of time and character) is less than it would be under their own proposals—in fact, more commensurate with the need and the result.

Once more turn to the Official Card of the National Service League. After putting forward the principles before mentioned, they urge as a minimum :—

> "1. One continuous training of four months . . . shall be compulsory . . . between the ages of 18 and 21 . . . Such training shall be followed annually for the next three years by (*a*) a fortnight's training in Camp with the ranks of the Territorial Force, (*b*) a musketry course. . . .
>
> "2. The man thus trained shall be liable up to the age of thirty to be called out for service with the Territorial Force, for Home Defence only, at a time of grave emergency so declared by Parliament.
>
> "3. Combined with the above system, as much physical drill and military instruction as possible should be given to all boys previous to their reaching the military age, as part of the curriculum in all schools."

First take this last statement : what do we find it means? Virtually nothing, except for the minority who have the good fortune to be educated at public and

secondary schools (where, as a matter of fact, such training is generally the rule); and these are not primarily the object of the proposals, or, at any rate, not the class who would be most likely to benefit by them. The majority—those who leave school at or about the age of 14—are neglected until they attain the military age, and it is these who are most in need of such training, for their own, no less than for the national, good.

This grave defect is apparently common to all schemes which have been proposed for dealing with the problem before us. It is the natural result of having approached the question only from the one point of view of military efficiency, and of not having sufficiently considered its educational aspect, whereas in reality training for military service is, or should be, a part of education. When primary education is given in letters, primary education should be given in arms; with secondary education in letters should come secondary education in arms. The one is compulsory; so should the other be

—and at the same time. If the State recognizes its duty in giving free education in letters, it should do so still more in military training, on which its existence as a nation depends. The failure of the Territorials is only surpassed by the failure of our education system; but if we make the military problem primarily an educational problem we shall, I believe, solve at once the military with the educational, and in addition thereto many of our social problems also.

At a time when thinkers and talkers alike are bewailing the decline in national physique and patriotic sentiment, child labour and allied curses of twentieth-century England, surely something must be done, and done quickly, to mitigate and if possible abolish those evils. There can be no doubt that we need a thorough reform of our educational system and curriculum; as Lord Haldane stated in a recent speech, it is the most pressing problem at the time. At the best, we turn out mere brains, but more often we develop neither brain nor body, but kill

both. Education is the tree of which good or evil is the fruit, and the primary cause of our social diseases is that what we give is bad—not drink, nor poverty, nor abuse of riches, nor landlordism, nor yet thriftlessness—these are only branches of a rotten tree. If patriotism were made the root of education, they would die from lack of nourishment.

This the National Service League scheme would not do; for the age (18 to 21) at which the training comes is too late. It would effect more than is necessary for our military requirements, and civilly would create more problems than it would solve. I agree with the author of *Compulsory Service* in thinking we should interfere with industry to a possibly disastrous extent; we should turn out an army no doubt, but an army far in excess of our requirements, the expenditure for which could be better utilized in other ways (such, for instance, as Lord Haldane suggests, in strengthening the Navy).[1] We should do much to spoil the national

[1] *Compulsory Service*, p. 37.

character of its self-reliant qualities by subjecting men to stringent discipline at what is, from the industrial point of view, a most serious time in their life.

Our aim, on the other hand, should be to provide a fighting force commensurate with our needs (virtually, to raise the Territorial Force to full strength and give it powers of expansion on a *voluntary* basis); and also to do this, not at the expense of equally important considerations but as a factor for building up, for remedying social evils, particularly child labour and blind-alley employment, the decline in manliness so noticeable to-day in the towns, the apparent lack of appreciation of the inter-dependence of man and man and consequent duty of man to fellow-man and State, as manifested in general in the growth of syndicalist ideas, and in particular in the coal and other strikes[1] of last year, viz., that notion that the public and the whole nation's welfare, and possibly its very existence, may be jeopardized to satisfy demands

[1] Not to mention the Suffragette outrages.

(however just) of one section of the community; and here I refer to the means, not the cause; I speak as an observer, not as a partisan.

In short, we should give to the democracy an education that will fit them for their responsibility as electors. We of the middle classes must hand over to them the sovereign power we have enjoyed, and, on the whole, not abused, during the last century; but we shall have failed miserably in our duty if, before finally so doing, we have not thitherto given the opportunity of learning the principles of equity and fair dealing, of placing country before self, the neglect of which has led to the ruin of all democracies before us. There is nothing so likely to do this as discipline in boyhood. To have known how to obey is to learn how to rule: self-restraint is the true basis of freedom. Discipline is Lord Roberts's *sine quâ non* for the Territorial Force: it is equally essential in the industrial world. But whilst it is good for boys it is bad for men, and at the age of 18 to 21 the majority have had four years

of freedom from restraint (except such as usually careless parents impose), and are in almost all respects rather *men* than *boys*.

So, I contend, the time for the period of continuous training should be earlier: it should be immediately on leaving day-school. We can then combine with it the higher and industrial education which is demanded by theorists and business men alike. In other words, we must raise the age at which compulsory education ceases; but to give one more year of the present bad education, such as the educational reformers advocate, would only be to increase the evil. It is no use abolishing the half-time system, or raising the age of compulsory schooling, or enforcing attendance at continuation and evening classes, if we do not ensure beforehand a sound body and healthy environment for the participant, for whom it is better that he should be able to earn sufficient to provide his own necessities, and learn habits of discipline in the course of his ordinary employment, as is the rule now, than that he should drift on in the undisciplined

schooling which they would enforce, and which would only render him still less fit for his work. And so the extra year or years must be spent at a *boarding*-school, where discipline and both military and industrial training can be given an adequate amount of consideration.

Up to the present the educational reformers and the military have been working for two distinct measures, whilst in reality their ultimate objects are much the same, and if they could only be brought to unite for a common cause, their forces would be irresistible. Both are patriotic in the sense that they would have better citizens: both require sound bodies and more public-spirited minds: both deprecate the lack of disciplinary training in youth which unfits equally for industrial as for military efficiency: both claim that their separate proposals would improve the prevailing conditions, whereas neither goes really to the root of their common problem, but each, instead of looking to an English solution for an English difficulty, turns to the Continent for inspiration and returns

with an infallible cure, indelibly marked "Made in Germany"! [1]

The vital point in a boy's career is admittedly at or about the age of 14. It is then he is most subject to outside influences: it is then that he is made or marred: it is at that age he is now thrown on to the world with only the apology for an education that is given him, as a rule without a chance of learning a skilled trade, or any sense of discipline or enthusiasm except for "having a good time." It is then that discipline is wanted; compulsion is good not when the boy is becoming a man and should be developing his own individual self, but in early youth. It is so with the middle and upper classes, with few exceptions, at the Public Schools: it should be equally so with the State schools. The old respect for parental authority has been steadily undermined by many causes, not the least of which is the veneer of education we have given in the

[1] Our own colonies furnish far worthier object lessons, *e.g.* the South African system of military training would be much more adapted to our needs. *Vide* Sir Ian Hamilton's *National Life and National Training.*

past; and the only thing which could replace it is respect for authority lawfully imposed.

On the other hand, consider the effect on a young man of 18 to 21 being taken from his trade when he is fairly started, and being subject to barrack routine or even to a six months' military camp training: consider the results of the four to six months' depôt-training of the Special Reserve. Are they good? Lord Roberts may well say that most of the youths so trained tend to join the Regular Army—they are usually unfit for anything else: they are taught no trade; on the contrary, they learn all the bad traditions of the Army and have not time to learn its good ones. And yet this is what the League would perpetuate in every able-bodied man in the country! I say, the risk is too great—it is greater even than the risk of invasion—and if that were the only solution to our present problem, it were verily better to do nothing.

But I say again, it is not the only solution; for if instead we resort to com-

pulsion in cadet training, to which course none of these objections belong, the military problem will solve itself. Lord Roberts makes the following statement[1]: "The possession of an art . . . stimulates the wish to practise that art. It is a law of human nature." From this he makes his point that recruiting for the Regulars will be encouraged by the National Service League proposals, should they come into operation. So we: Give the boy the art, and he will himself wish to continue to have an opportunity to practise that art, whether in the Regulars or Territorials. The argument is amply supported by the reports of the Industrial Schools and similar semi-military institutions. The percentage of boys who join the Regular Forces therefrom is very high, and almost any noncom. will agree that they make the best soldiers. They supply numbers; they also supply quality. Similarly the number of young men who, having been members of the Boys' Brigades and Boy

[1] *Fallacies and Facts*, p. 22.

Scouts, show their appreciation of camp life and military training by proceeding from these to the ranks of the Territorials, goes to prove the truth of Lord Roberts's statement.

Is it not then reasonable to suppose that we should have no difficulty, not only in improving the standard of the Territorials, but also in keeping them up to establishment, or indeed up to any number that was required? Besides, we should have as a reserve the entire nation trained to arms in their boyhood—powers of expansion only limited in fact by the number of the able-bodied male population of the kingdom. This is my contention, and surely it is a reasonable one. But if the event proved me over sanguine, we are at least no worse for the experiment; we have gained much from the industrial standpoint; we have lost nothing from the military: we have merely carried out an educational reform for which the country is crying out, and filled up the gap in the National Service League scheme. It is just possible our countrymen will not even then

be sufficiently patriotic to keep us from the evil of compulsion; well then, but not till then, compulsion it would have to be. The National Service League scheme could then follow; it would have the excuse of being inevitable. At the present time we have not tried and failed; and whereas now, in passing over the most important years of a boy's career, the League appears to place the cart before the horse, the more natural order of events would have been followed.

II

THE proposals advocated in these pages are as follows :—

1. All[1] boys must have physical exercises and simple squad-training at school.—Primary education in arms.

2. Immediately on leaving school, if at or under 16 years of age, they must have a minimum period of one year[2] at a training school, at which the curriculum shall be partly military, partly industrial and mental, with strict discipline enforced.

3. If at school beyond the age of 16, or after leaving the Training School, they must be members up to the age of 18 of the Officers' Training Corps, or Cadet Corps, which shall be given more attention than heretofore, with a number of drills, musketry course, and three weeks' camp each year, as compulsory features of the training.

[1] With exceptions for only adequate medical reasons.

[2] A certain amount of latitude in the duration of the period should be allowed, so that boys should not be prevented by red tape from entering suitable employment when it presented itself, or from staying over their compulsory time until a position had been found for them, which could be easily managed in conjunction with the much abused Labour Exchanges.

4. After the age of 18, retain on a voluntary basis our army, Regular, Special Reserve, and Territorials, as at present, only resorting to compulsion if and when these regulations had proved a failure.

The main difference between this scheme and that of the National Service League is that instead of compulsory membership of the actual fighting force, we resort to compulsion in the training only—compulsory membership of Cadet Corps up to 18 years of age. The transference of the period of consecutive training from the years 18 to 21 to the years 14 to 16 (which is the age at which most boys leave school), will naturally be the feature most criticized, at any rate by the champions of the National Service League programme. I may have satisfied the educationists, and these proposals may be accepted as beneficial to the industrial side of the national life, but unless the military reformers are also satisfied, my whole case is not made. I have shown that these early years are virtually neglected by the League scheme: but they may equally well say that, in

omitting the later period of training, we are neglecting what is essential for good soldiers, and not substituting anything adequate in its stead. I have also given my reasons for expecting that the Territorials will be kept up to establishment and have almost unlimited powers of expansion. But whether the extra efficiency gained will be considered sufficient is another matter; and, having had little military experience, I am certainly not in a position to pose as a military connoisseur. I can only give the reasons for hoping that it will be adequate—there are, after all, some who say our position is secure at present.

It will be said that boys of that age are too young to stand much military work or undergo the necessary training. But is much required? A sense of discipline is the main thing lacking, and this at any rate can be imparted then just as well as, if not better than, later: and the objection that the effects of this will very soon wear off is amply met by the provision of drills, musketry course, and, above all, a period

in camp each year up to the age of 18. The civilian would then become a soldier, and habit would assert itself; whilst in civil life he would not have been deprived of that individuality and self-reliance which are required to so great a degree to-day.

Moreover, many Special Reservists now undergo their training in depôt at about this age, and *they* are liable for actual service at any time, irrespective of age. It is a common occurrence for boys of even 14 to pass as of the requisite age (17); and conversation with more than one such has elicited the information that the work is found far easier than the ordinary civil employment that has been left behind. It is only too often the amount of time with nothing specific to do that is the undoing of these boys; almost nightly journeys to the nearest town, with its attractions, that wear out the young frame—the pleasures, not the duties. The excess of unoccupied time is the curse of our younger service-men to-day: it is almost inevitable with the voluntarily recruited

soldier, and is perhaps advisable with the Regulars and Special Reserve, since interference with the private life of men is to be deprecated, so long as they do not render themselves less capable for their work: the traditions of the army demand it, and certainly without it there would be a large decrease in recruiting. But for boys of 13 to 16 there is this great advantage, that such amusements are no more necessary than for boys of the same age at Public Schools. Time can then be better spent than in walking out, or in music-halls and public-houses.

On the other hand, at 18 to 21 the case is far different: for whilst the time could only be partly taken up with military work, it would be far harder to fill up the remaining hours of the day with useful employment or education. If leave were not granted, it would be taken: the worst points of the Regular Army would be perpetuated in every man in the kingdom.

That a boy of 13 to 18 cannot take in much of the science of war is another apparent drawback. But does the average

private soldier know much of it? Is not the modern army composed rather of automatons, whose safety and success lie in their not waiting, if not their incapacity, to think for themselves? With officers and the non-commissioned ranks the case is different; but with these we are not directly concerned, since we are only dealing with the training and not with the actual fighting force.

The question of the relative military advantages then resolves itself into this: is not a youth of 18, trained on these lines as a cadet from his earliest years, likely to be more efficient than one who has spent the years up to 18 in ordinary employment without cadet training, or in drifting into a wastrel (these latter are the only class who could possibly benefit individually from the National Service League scheme), and then undergone a four to six months' course? I maintain the former is the better military material, just as he is the better industrial material.

The sentimentalists and anti-militarists will no doubt object to a child of that

tender age (14 to 16) being taken away from home influence, and prepared and taught how to kill his country's enemies. But so far as the home influence is concerned, it is undoubtedly advisable in most cases; and on the other score a little knowledge of the history of our own country proves that from the earliest times the children were taught the art of self-defence. It was only the advent of hired mercenaries, and the cumbersome arms which superseded the lighter weapons and which it was impossible for any but full-grown men to carry, that caused the art of warfare to be neglected in the education of our youth. Again, there is the analogy of the Boys' Brigades and Boy Scouts, to which organizations there are few who take exception. Perhaps this is because they are often connected with some particular sect or Church, and consequently some such casuistry is employed to salve the anti-militarist conscience, as that the possible harm of mock-soldiering is more than counterbalanced by the immense amount of good

that is instilled into the boys with their sectarian prejudices. I hold brief for neither creed nor party; but just as the parties unite in the face of national peril, cannot the sects unite to promote what is, or should be, common to all, the true religion of Christ, the duty of man to man, health of body and mind to enable that duty to be performed fully—true patriotism? To inculcate this can do no harm, even to the youngest child. If properly administered, there could be nothing but good resulting from these proposals in this direction.

Another rather more serious objection is likely to come from employers in trades where boy-labour appears essential to economic success, particularly from agricultural districts, where, moreover, the boy is probably better off working for his livelihood than in schooling, since it is at a healthy occupation. Here is a serious objection to any scheme of educational reform, and it requires to be answered seriously. The complaint will be somewhat in this form: "If the age at which

a boy enters employment is raised, he will require more wages, and the margin of profit, in consequence of foreign imports, is not sufficient to allow of this." Now, an increase of one year is not calculated to make much difference in this respect. But, granting for the moment that this tendency would exist, the increase in economic value, which would follow even from a year's skilled training, would be such as to make things even on balance; there would still remain the entirely unskilled, those too stupid or too lazy to learn anything, to do the entirely unskilled work at its market value—would that we could do without and away with them! Besides, higher wages do not necessarily mean less profit. Take, for instance, the comparison between farming in the north of England and in the south; wages in the former case are 50 per cent. higher, in consequence of severer competition for labour in the towns; but the skill is correspondingly greater, both in labour and management. More is put into the land; more is returned.

So with newsboys, errand-boys, messengers, lather-boys, and the hundred and one occupations to which a boy turns if not otherwise guided—mostly blind-alley employment, by the way, and therefore morally to be deprecated—the raising of the age by one year is not calculated to make any appreciable difference, provided it is compulsory on all. The unskilled labour market is so overcrowded that the supply would at the best only be brought nearer to its true relationship with the demand; and so far as the abolition of the half-time system is concerned, this is already almost *un fait accompli*, and so need not weigh against us.

That in raising the age at which compulsory education ceases we should be inflicting hardships on parents is an argument which holds equally against any scheme of the sort; and the signs of the times point to this being inevitable. But, whereas the educational theorists only aim at another year of useless education, we do at least propose to increase the subsequent earning power of the boy, so that

the hardship is only temporary. We also take away from the parents the need to find them in clothing and food, for sufficiency of which the 5s. a week, or whatever addition the boy's earnings may be to the family's housekeeping money, cannot be more than adequate. It might also be possible to provide a fund to allow of distribution in the really necessitous cases (such, for instance, as widows or invalid parents) of the equivalent, without adding greatly to the cost to the Exchequer; or, if we consider that the State is employing these boys, and that their labour is worth something beyond keep and education, we might resort to the French system, whereby a small amount would be paid both to the boys and to the parents.

In any case, the arguments that can be brought against these proposals hold with at least equal force against those of the National Service League. If it is an economic hardship, whether for employers or parents, to forgo labour of 14 years of age, it is still more so

that of 18; and when the labour market is overstocked, it is assuredly better to curtail the supply at one end rather than in the middle.

The advantage is also apparent in reckoning up the cost to the Exchequer. Boys must necessarily be cheaper to feed, clothe, and pay.[1] Indirectly also the nation's pocket would be saved in other directions, since the organization of the Boys' Brigade, Scouts, etc., would cease to be a call on the philanthropic taxpayer's pocket, as they would no longer have a *raison d'être*.[2] Moreover, the existing Industrial Schools and Reformatories, the necessary number of which would be reduced (since juvenile crime and similar misfortunes, which now help to fill them, must be largely diminished), would serve

[1] If payment is necessary at all. *Vide supra.*

[2] Here, it is to be regretted, we are running against vested interests. But it seems almost inevitable that private enterprise and charity in matters of State importance should have to give place to Government control and compulsory levies; and, granting education free and compulsory, as we now have it, this is only a necessary corollary. The same principal as was followed in the case of the Insurance Act with approved societies, with an efficiency qualification for grants, might possibly be adopted.

as a nucleus of buildings and staff [1] from which to build up the scheme. Against these considerations, however, we have to set the increased period of training, the provision of masters and instructors other than military, and possibly a larger capital expenditure,[2] since the continuous training is not to be in camp, but in a school. But it is found that many Industrial Schools and Orphanages of a similar nature are nearly self-supporting, and since these are our pattern rather than barracks this would nearly make up the difference. We are to a large extent productive: the League—like the educational reformers—is entirely non-productive, if not quite destructive.

Again, the cost of the actual fighting force is only that of the Territorials brought up to full strength (or more as required), and since that was the minimum set by Lord Haldane when he instituted his reforms, it is not reasonable to add this

[1] Also the present higher grade schools and masters.
[2] This is entirely omitted from the National Service League scheme.

to the cost of our programme. It should be necessary for the Exchequer to find it now. In any case, compared with the League's proposals, this is all in our favour; for whereas their standing Territorial Force is to be grossly in excess of our requirements—since direct compulsion would admittedly provide this[1]—we are ensuring only the requisite number actually enlisted and paid for, with the remainder of the able-bodied manhood of the kingdom, sufficiently trained to be an efficient reserve, costing nothing until they are called on (either voluntarily or compulsorily) in the event of war breaking out.

In the matter of numbers for the continuous training, we should probably have about as many as the National Service League; for, although *they* include all youths of 18 to 21, whilst *we* are only including in the direct scheme those who are not at school beyond the age of 16,[2]

[1] Even accepting the League's figures with its 50 per cent. of exemptions and underestimate of the population.

[2] The cost of the Cadet Corps and Officers' Training Corps for the others would not be materially increased.

we should have fewer exemptions on medical grounds, and from natural causes there would be a larger number of boys attaining the earlier age. At this stage, however, the actual numbers are necessarily a matter of conjecture, as they depend largely on how many parents would elect to send their boys to the new free technical as opposed to the ordinary schools. Undoubtedly the number would tend to increase, unless the competition induced the existing private schools to reform so as to meet the demand that undoubtedly exists for a more rational education—in which case another indirect benefit would have accrued to the country.

Estimates of cost are invariably misleading—a lesson the present Chancellor of the Exchequer should have taught us by his provision for Old Age Pensions, Land Taxes, and Insurance. But from the foregoing considerations it will be apparent that this scheme would be less expensive than that of the National Service League, apart altogether from the con-

sideration that the cadet part of theirs is neglected. Besides, the costly educational reforms now in the air would have ceased to be necessary, since their object would have been accomplished at one and the same time.[1]

To our credit side also there can be no doubt we have greater social advantages. I have already mentioned some of the evils that the scheme would mitigate: child labour, blind-alley employment, shortage of skilled as opposed to unskilled workmen, lack of discipline and patriotism. And there are others equally important: uncleanliness; youthful precocity, for

[1] There is also the greater ease in obtaining the boys at the younger age. The League do not explain how they propose to gather in their quarry, which might at the later age be scattered to the four winds; but something of the Continental system, with its officialdom and obnoxious registration, would be necessary, whereas in our case the boy would be transferred automatically from one school to another, primary to secondary, or day school to boarding school. There would be few attempts to escape, and these would be easily dealt with; political exile for shirking service (the victims of which come to England as a haven from all countries where conscription obtains), would not be possible or likely. Not the least un-English characteristic of the League's proposals is this necessary adjunct of registration and supervision by "the authorities." The hindrance to emigration and to the transferability of labour generally, is also a factor worthy more consideration than they have bestowed upon it.

which segregation of the sexes at a critical time cannot fail to be a deterrent; the increasing numbers of juvenile criminals, of which the street is the most fertile breeding-ground; lack of knowledge of the elements of true religion; weak bodies and weaker minds. Yet this does not claim to be a universal panacea, a socialistic dream relying on the perfect man (and a perfect officialdom!) for its fulfilment. And in its moderation is there not hope for its realization?

One advantage the National Service League proposals have: they advocate compulsory membership of the Territorial Force. This is an admission which is perfectly consistent with the foregoing pages, for it is the time of the continuous period of training that appears so harmful, and to which I object so strongly, not the annual camp training, musketry course, and the rest. But the country as a whole will not have it, at least of its own free will. Its advantages are not sufficiently apparent. But the fact remains: if all are compelled, then there is no hardship or injustice to

individuals. But, on the other hand, compulsion is *per se* not the highest ideal: the arguments are mainly in favour of the voluntary soldier as opposed to the conscript or pressed man; and so I say that if there are sufficient volunteers to join, either at personal sacrifice or because they find they can do so without loss to themselves, then we probably have a better and a keener army than one compulsorily levied.[1]

Still I am in the position of partly praising the National Service League on my own proper ground of industrial equity and advantage, and blaming them on their military ground. It is in this one respect only; and if any one will think it is a serious advantage outweighing the many on the other side, let him bear in mind that compulsion could follow if it was afterwards found necessary, and if the country would have it. It is the question of training that is the matter of urgency; we are as a nation absolutely ignorant of military knowledge; we cannot even ride

[1] See *Compulsory Service*, pp. 49–51.

or shoot, the value of which accomplishments only the Boer War amply testified. And it is their proposals for the training, together with the subsequent compulsion, that make the League's scheme unpopular, and so prevent anything at all being done. The course I propose might almost be popular, and certainly would stand a sporting chance of immediate realization.

Lastly, the provision of officers, in which particular the League's proposals are far from satisfactory.

Some time ago I was very much attracted by the theory of drawing our officers by promotion from the ranks. But a considerable amount of intimacy with privates and non-commissioned officers in different branches of the Regular Army has convinced me that the average of these is not only not suited for a commissioned position, but would rather not have such responsibility. The arguments are also plain that :—

(*a*) Unless the number of ranks, or period of each, were reduced, by the time a man rose to the rank of even colonel, he would be of pro-

hibitive age. Imagine, for instance, captains of infantry leading companies on foot at the age of our generals to-day!

(*b*) The qualities required for leading are not those required for working.[1]

(*c*) In the army bribery, or something akin to it, is possible, and exists fairly generally up to the rank of colour-sergeant. How if it went higher? At present an officer is absolutely above such considerations: "backsheesh" of "a pint," or its price, would in his case be ludicrous.

At the same time the apparently democratic appearance of the National Service League's proposals, that "high and low, rich and poor," should all be compelled, is appealing. But when we examine their scheme in its relationship to officers, we find something rather antagonistic to this somewhat bombastic little phrase of theirs, which we begin to suspect is inserted less from sincerity of intention than from vote-catching motives.

There are, it will be noted, two concurrent ways of officering their Territorial Army: either from the ranks or with regular officers. To the second alternative there is no objection; but supposing they do intend to adopt the

[1] In its narrower sense.

former course to any large extent, why treat the Territorials different from the Regulars? The Regular officer may have something approaching contempt for his civilian brother as being neither "fish, fowl, nor good red herring"; but this, in so far as it is reasonable, is due in the main to the military incompetency exhibited until recently by the majority of the Territorial and Volunteer officers; it is no reason for abolishing the system, or for raising the gentlemen who make soldiering a profession into such a position of splendid superiority[1] as, for example, they hold in Germany. As a nation we do not want anything approaching a military caste, to whose dictatorship with its professional prejudices, every citizen of the country "for a continuous period of four to six months and thereafter for a fortnight each

[1] In the estimated cost of the National Service League scheme, the items for provision of officers are given as follows :—

2,070 Regular Officers	£965,526
2,760 Territorial Officers	£138,000

Comment is superfluous.

year," will be bound to submit his body and soul. And herein seems to be the seed for such a state of affairs: for since there is proposed no lessening of the number of ranks, presumably the majority of officers would belong to the second class: they would tend to be in the higher ranks retired or transferred regular officers, and in the lower, men who had gone from the Public Schools and Universities for one year with the Regulars with a view to joining the Territorials.

Now we see the fallacy of the plausibly democratic proposals of the National Service League: we have either Regular officers lording it over their fellow-officers risen from the ranks, or young men who have chosen a year's training with the Regulars as a way round the four to six months' training of the rank and file. This may be all right from the military standpoint—but it is not what might be gathered from a casual reading of the scheme. It is not even aristocratic, but rather plutocratic, since only those could adopt the latter course who could afford

to do so. The Public School boy of 18, the University scholar of 20, if not possessed of means, would be compelled to do his four to six months' training with the town hooligan and gaolbird [1] for messmates ; and any one who has even a casual acquaintance with barrack and camp life will appreciate the impossibility of such a situation. This is democracy run mad. A boy, well educated, trained to appreciate the refinements of life, and trained thereby to bear not a less, but a different and more subtle form of life's burden in a different way, being forced to associate under such conditions as make mutual avoidance impossible, with strong animals, whose rearing ground has been the street, and whose morals and habits are based on what is natural and not on what civilization has taught is advisable. His apparent effeminacy would make him a laughing-stock to his rude companions ; he would either become as one of them, or shrink into himself, and form with others of his own

[1] For at this age a youth is already of the "sheep or the goats." It is too late for good influence to have much effect on him.

class a clique, a breeding-ground of snobbery, one more sacrifice at the altar of misguided democracy. I put it to the officers who stand by the League programme, Would it have suited them to have done their depôt training in the barrack-room or tent with the privates? Would it have made them better or more respected officers, even if they could have put up with it?

There are some who think this mixing on such terms would "bridge divisions of classes"; it is calculated rather to widen the gulf between; and even if not, the tendency in such cases is to level *down*, not to level *up*. It is admirable to talk of intermixing; but it should be in the traditions of the higher, not of the lower—of the Public School, not of the barrack-room. The system proposed by the National Service League precludes all possibility of this. At 18 to 20 a youth is formed; he is either of the educated or of the illiterate, a gentleman or not; if of the former, it is too late to raise him to the noble independence of the

manual worker; if of the latter, it is too late for him to learn the qualities of the former.[1]

Is it not true, then, that the National Service League scheme is bad in its provision for officers? Its first clause turns out to mean nothing—in practice about the same percentage of officers would have passed through the ranks as in the Regulars at present; and the second provides either *bona-fide* Regular officers—of which, by the way, there is a lamentable shortage already, and no proposal for remedying this or for replacing those transferred under the League's scheme has been vouchsafed—or men who have undergone the year's training with Regulars in order to qualify for the position. In the latter case I will only mention the unfairness that a year is required from the man who pays to learn,[2] even though he

[1] As an illustration, take the case of the County Council scholars at the older Universities, men who, by their ability, deserve all respect for the way they have triumphed over natural obstacles. It is rarely they are at home, or gain much advantage from residence there, not through any snobbishness on the part of the other undergraduates, but from inherent causes.

[2] It is fair to assume that no officer can live on his pay at a home station.

has almost invariably had previous training at school and University; whilst the private, who is paid, is only required to sacrifice four to six months of his time. His ordinary labours are no doubt less indispensable to the country's welfare than the latter's! It is only the fashion to raise manual labour into the position of the demi-god; it must be cajoled and humoured; capital and brains and breeding are now at a discount, and must submit to superior numbers and brute force.

This whole question of officering the Territorial Force is no detail; there is the same shortage in this part of its personnel as in the others, and no doubt it has received a considerable amount of the attention of those who framed the Bill before mentioned, so as to make it palatable, not to those whom it mainly concerns but to the masses. In any scheme of direct compulsion, unless we change our national tradition entirely and go for promotion from the ranks, as is the case in France, in which event the same must logically hold in all branches of the

services, the difficulty of where to draw the line between officer and man is apparent; but it is only when we consider direct compulsion that this difficulty arises. The provision of officers, just as that of men, for the Territorials may leave room for improvement, both as to quality and quantity; but this may be remedied by adopting the same course in each case, viz., compulsory membership of cadet corps, or rather, officers' training corps. It may be advisable as well to insist on some training with the Regulars before a commission is granted, in which case camp and manœuvre training would seem to promise better results than the barrack-room routine which is obligatory now, since, to the lay mind, it seems hardly necessary for the Territorial officer to spend his training time in drilling recruits on the square, or sitting hours in the butts and similar peace duties, for work; and for play, the usual social and sporting life of officers of his Majesty's Army. But this by the way, since in our case only such as volunteer would be affected, and

it becomes a question of what is necessary and not of what is fair.

Herein these proposals have a great advantage over those of the League. But, on the other hand, I do not wish to lay myself open to the stigma of favouritism, of advocating "one law for the rich and another for the poor," of wanting to *compel* the less fortunate members of the community, who cannot so well afford the time to undergo the training, when the Public School boy escapes free. Hitherto the reverse has been the case, but this is no reason for creating the opposite injustice. If there is to be hardship, it must be fair in its incidence, and fall on all equally. Putting aside the contention that the year at a boarding-school and the subsequent training would be no hardship, since it only accords with human nature that when anything becomes free and compulsory, however desirable it may have before appeared, it should thereafter assume rather the appearance of a burden to be borne than of a privilege to be enjoyed—putting this aside, we have

to see to it that the training of the others should be equally thorough, and that they also bear their different burden.

Speaking generally, the Officers' Training Corps already existent must be made compulsory between the same ages, and the standard raised. A month or six weeks in camp each year would not seem too much if incumbent on all, as longer holidays are allowed, and besides levelling matters between them and their less fortunate brethren of the "working classes," it would also ensure afterwards that officers would be worthy of their position, in that they would be more efficient than the men under them, and the material for officers of both Regulars and Territorials would be proportionately improved. Military subjects should also find a place in the curriculum of the schools, certificates A and B, as we now know them, being given recognition by the masters as authorized subjects, and not left to be crammed into the very small leisure time of the boys.

There remains after the boarding-

schools the very real difficulty of the Grammar Schools and similar non-boarding establishments, whereat the boys still stay beyond the age of 16. Such boys, as a rule, would be destined to enter clerical rather than manual occupations, and consequently a period at a trade school would be a hindrance and not an advantage to them.[1] An extra year above that age would be a serious handicap and an unnecessary hardship to themselves and their parents, who are often in less easy circumstances than those whose children are "educated" at the Council Schools, pride and having "appearances to keep up" being in many cases the cause of their not having allowed their sons to go to the free schools. On the whole, then, in such cases, since industrially there is nothing to be gained by compelling the attendance of those boys at the Training School, it is merely a military question, viz., that they should be brought up to the same level as those who have done

[1] It was this consideration mainly that led to the selection of the age limit of 16.

so in order that they may share on an equal footing in the camp training, musketry course, etc., each year, either with the Cadet Battalions or with the Officers' Training Corps, according to the class of boy the particular school contains; which line of demarcation admittedly somewhat invidious to draw, is already in existence, so that no friction need result in consequence of the proposal.

As to the actual officering of the Territorial Force, the same two methods of access should be kept open, and I frankly would like to have promotion from the ranks much more usual than now is the rule; but a year with the Regulars should not be the only qualification in the second case. Sufficient and better it would be to have passed through an efficient Officers' Training Corps, and undergone training at one of the boys' training schools under the supervision of the Head, and with non-coms. to assist, and if possible attended the annual army manœuvres. In this way officers of

Territorials would better understand their men, who in turn would better understand them, for they would have learned together. This is truly democratic: all are not fitted for the same work, but each should do his particular duty, and be trained so as best to fit him for it.

Possibly one of the main reasons why the Territorial Army has not been the success its promoters anticipated is that it is "forcibly fed" on Regular Army principles, and not allowed to develop the characteristics in which its personnel would most readily excel. Granted that discipline is necessary, yet there are other means of attaining it—and to a high degree—than those employed in the case of the Regulars, whether for private soldier or officer. The reason for the lamentable shortage of members is not that our countrymen are unpatriotic, but largely because men do not agree with the training to which they would be subjected. With the change in name from Volunteers to Territorials came the change in spirit, and the change was not welcome;

so that, when the first flush of enthusiasm has died down, there is no tradition to help fill the ranks, and we have to obtain recruits by such means as *The Englishman's Home,* "flagwagging," parades of Territorials through London streets (counting as two drills!) appealing to the excitable imagination only, or paying half a crown for recruits, and so appealing to the most sordid instinct—the same means that are employed for filling the ranks of the Regular Forces. This is all useless, and should be unnecessary; for the only appeal that can keep the Territorials efficient and up to establishment is that to the sense, and particularly to the sense of duty. To make this appeal effective, the only provisions necessary are that the volunteer shall not be called upon to make too large a personal sacrifice, and handicap either himself or his employer as against others less patriotic who do not join; and that he should be used to the best possible advantage.[1]

[1] The promised payment of Insurance contributions is a welcome, if tardy, step in this direction. If half the energy

This I contend we are not doing now. The military authorities are behind the time: they would enforce on a citizen army the same obsolete show of discipline that was the rule in Wellington's time, when the quality of the men was well reflected in the conditions under which they lived, even in peace time. Such things as the beautiful salute, the perfect slope of the rifle, the peacock strut, the great trifles of army life, which are at best only a means to an end, and a clumsy and bad enough means with a professional soldier, who has sold his very body and soul to his superiors, and whose peace duties are largely ceremonial; but unbearable (because unnecessary) to a citizen army composed not of glorious relics of a chivalric past, but of men who are presumably better educated and in civil life independent. Modern warfare is a serious business requiring mind as well as body, particularly among the officers, and a far

and money that is spent in inveigling recruits (in *all* branches of the services) were spent in remedying the reasons for the unpopularity of service we should never be short of men.

better force could be evolved by different methods than those now employed, which the South African War should have taught us are obsolete. The reason the Boers were so hard a nut to crack was not the glorious hues of their uniforms—they had none — nor their automaton-like movements in unison, and all the other old English and German institutions which are the criteria of the good soldier still with us: but it was that they could shoot with deadly precision and ride like the cowboys in the moving pictures, they could take cover behind nothing, and knew how to keep unseen. These were the lessons of that war, and we have ignored them; these are the essentials of a true citizen force, and I think it should be allowed to concentrate its efforts on these, in which from its composition it could readily excel.[1]

[1] There is one point here particularly à propos: the old controversy of Mounted Infantry *v.* Cavalry, rifle *v.* steel weapon. This is, of course, a technical military question, on which the doctors are constantly disagreeing, and to quote arguments on both sides is beyond the scope of this pamphlet; but, however much the arguments of the advocates of the latter may hold for highly trained troops in

European warfare, the fact remains that in South Africa the former furnished the most constant and irritating thorn in the side of the English ;* and England being a very similar country, and the Territorial army intended only for home defence—if we are to trust its sponsors—it would seem something approaching criminal neglect that this arm has been allowed to languish. The German school seems to be omnipotent in England at present, and the Mounted Infantry have been neglected and are now moribund. Even if this is right for our Expenditionary Force, it is not right for the home defence army, whose short training could never be expected to produce any great ability in shock tactics, but which, if composed of good shots and good riders, might with very little technical training be the most valuable factor in repelling any invading force.

* The Boers are not the only race who have carried out similar tactics with success : our own countrymen under "Mad" Peterborough proved their value long before.

III

THE success or failure of such a scheme as is proposed in these pages depends most of all on the Training School, to which the boys are to be sent on leaving the Council day-school. Whether the training would be a burden or a privilege, opposed or supported, by its victims or its protégés, is less on the knees of the gods than in the human provision made to ensure the better way in imparting to these schools the right characteristics. It is largely due to lack of consideration for national sentiment and popular feeling on the part of its promoters that the free education that we "enjoy" has been such a very mixed blessing: it is not appreciated, not only because it is free and compulsory, but because it is not worthy of appreciation. It is little wonder that, to the majority, it appears in the light

of waste time, the only consolation for the vast expenditure thereon being that the children are thereby possibly kept out of worse mischief. There can be no doubt that our whole system of free education needs reform, but for the present we must be content with making the new departure a step in the right direction, to which end a brief survey of existing analogous institutions may help as a guide.

Our first aim should be something of the kind of discipline one finds, and *esprit de corps* one learns, at Public Schools: that feeling of pride and affection for the school, often centred round the chapel, and which takes the form of a desire to act so as to be a credit to the place, both whilst there and after leaving it. This sentiment, or call it what you will, is totally lacking in the present Council schools; but it is an English characteristic, which a truly national education should produce and foster above all other more tangible attributes. Next we must teach the rudiments of a skilled trade, on which depends the boy's ability to "earn his living" and

hence also the nation's commercial prosperity. Lastly, we must give some education in its narrower sense of letters.

We start with the moral; we proceed to the physical; and finally provide the mental for those who can receive it. This is the true order of all true education, not in sequence of time, but of importance. Of these three our present system provides none thoroughly, and only the last, and least vital, at all.

It is, of course, impossible to effect all this in one year; but at least the seeds can be sown, and, unlike the National Service League, we have comparatively virgin soil in which to sow, and therefore withal a greater responsibility to see that the soil is properly prepared and that the seed is the most suitable.

The present Industrial Schools come near to our requirements; but there is a stigma attaching to the name, which is apt to be applied to the institutions themselves. They are looked on as almost synonymous with the Reformatories. In the words of a learned lawyer, the former

are for the " unfortunate little devils " and the latter for the " wicked little devils," which distinction is fairly true, only, to the detriment of the Industrial Schools, many " wicked little devils " find their way there as punishment for small offences, and it is no wonder that their regulations have had to be framed so as to provide for this class as well as for the merely " unfortunate." In spite of this, it is a fact that the boy who has made a false start in life and been sent forcibly to one of these institutions receives a far better education, and stands a much greater chance of making a good citizen, than the one who keeps straight. But there must be no suggestion of " unfortunate," still less of " wicked," in the atmosphere of the new Training Schools.

Nor do we want the purely military régime such as obtains in the Army depôts. I have referred before to some of their failings, that make them a breeding-ground rather for unemployable than for useful members of the community. At the same time, the difference in appearance between a young recruit and the civilian

companions with whom he may be walking cannot fail to be noticed even by the most casual observer in any garrison town ; and the superiority in walk and bearing is not attributable entirely to the difference in dress. This is the main characteristic (and almost the only one) we would borrow from barracks.

Then the Boy Scouts : their strong point is not their self-confidence and unbridled conceit—this is the natural outcome of the immense fuss that has been and is being made of them—but they stand at the bottom for public spirit. *Pro bono publico* is an old motto rather neglected in these days of false Socialism, but its worth is as priceless as ever. Whose are the names in history we revere? Are they the Johns or Marlboroughs, who played with the nation's weal for their own individual ambition? No ; they are the Cromwells, Wolfes, and Nelsons, whose first thought was for their country and its honour and welfare. In the Boys' Brigades and Boy Scouts we have this quality particularly encouraged. The Boy Scout colony in

Kent is, in fact, a very near approach to the ideal. Here, again, its name leaves something to be desired; and in other respects also it savours too much of boys aping the man, of the bombastic side of soldiering, and the too independent aspect of civilian life,[1] to be taken as a perfect pattern for general copying. It is for the few elect, not for the many who are not chosen.

Another example is that of the many orphanages in town and country, but particularly the latter, as it is not on grounds of health only that these are preferable. They have, however, two great advantages: there are no parents to consider; and as is often the case, they are personally conducted by one man, in whom the boys have a personal friend; whereas when the State manages, it mismanages; the control is largely in the hands of officials, non-enthusiastic and impersonal,

[1] The same stricture applies to the George Junior Republics in the U.S.A., which are good in many ways, especially in their financial arrangements. But the American spirit is not altogether desirable. "Exaggerated Ego" may be the only substitute for criminal instincts, but in this country we can surely presuppose in our youth opposite tendencies.

and it usually leads to greater expense and less beneficial results.

So I have taken a broad survey of institutions now extant which are similar to the proposed training school. We should borrow from the Public School its *esprit de corps* and moral training: from the barracks its traditions of "smartness" and body-training: from the Industrial School its trade-teaching: from the Scouts and Boys' Brigades an appreciation of the duty of man to man: from the American Junior Republics their system of management and balance-sheet.

Next, to the curriculum, which—only as an opinion for what it is worth—may tend to produce these objects.

Broadly, the itinerary should be early morning on the square, morning in the workshop or at the desk, afternoon in the field, evening in the class-room.

In detail something as follows[1]:—

6.0	...	...	...	Réveillé.
6.30	...	...	...	Chapel (not exceeding 10 minutes).

[1] This is only intended as an illustration of type, to give an impression, not as an ideal incapable of improvement.

7.0–7.45	Drill.
8.0	Breakfast.
9.30–12 (with interval) ...	Trade teaching or desk work.
12.30–1.0 (alternate days)	Drill.
1.15	Dinner.
2.30 (outdoor)	Alternate days, military fieldwork and games.
5.0 (4 days a week) ...	Class-room.
6.0	Tea.
6.45–7.45	Class-room, informal.
7.45	Chapel (again not exceeding 10 minutes).
8.30	Supper.
9.0	Lights out.

This may appear to be too hard; but it is not intended that the occupation should be unduly burdensome, and it is generally accepted that the best principle at school is to have as little unoccupied time as possible. Advocates of an eight-hour day may be horrified, but many a Public School boy has a longer day than that proposed, and brainwork is admittedly harder than manual.

Or it may be thought that the brain is somewhat neglected; but it must be remembered that we are not catering for those who have shown any aptitude in this direction. They will be mainly the

boys who would take an interest only in what will be useful to them; they will be the young animals of society—otherwise they would be at the Grammar Schools by "scholarship" or some other means. If, however, clerical work is likely to be any particular boy's means of livelihood, then he would be so instructed in the morning period. We have no time for "fancy work," Latin and Greek accidence, higher mathematics, and the rest of the stock-in-trade of the conservative schoolmaster—I am not so convinced in my own case that the years spent in these might not have been more usefully employed that I should wish to have them inflicted on every one. We can and must give a thorough knowledge of arithmetic; we may be able to give an appreciation of history, particularly that of our own country; some maxims of political economy; and some idea of geography. For these, one period a day, chiefly informal, in the lecture-hall rather than the class-room, would be sufficient to arouse an interest

which would survive through life. It is far too common a notion, for which the examination system is largely responsible, that education ceases when schooldays are over, whereas in reality it should then be only just beginning. Success in examination is no true criterion of a particular school's value to the community, nor of a particular boy's ability; it is possibly the reverse, since it is too often the result of mere cramming, the natural consequence of which is staleness: having been artificially fed *ad nauseam,* the mental taste and digestion are permanently injured for the remainder of the boy's life; instead of the interest being nursed, it is effectually killed.

So, on the principle that the proper study of mankind is man, we should encourage the reading of wholesome literature; we should have impromptu debates; have lectures on political science and psychological subjects; on our national and imperial history. But to quote a pseudonymous writer in the

Nottingham Guardian,[1] who summed up the question better than I could :—

> "When all has been said about the nature and number of the subjects of a school curriculum and their effect on the mental power of the child, there still remains this truth—the acquirement of good habits is worth far more than the acquisition of much knowledge. Habits of punctuality, of order, of discipline, of method, of industry, of application, of perseverance, and of doing one's best, always are most valuable assets in any sphere of life, for they make a trustworthy individual of him who possesses them."

And I may add that the aggregation of such individuals makes a trustworthy and successful nation as well.

And since boys of 14 to 16 are particularly susceptible to outside influences, the staff must be fully qualified, not so much in book learning as in personality. If Queen Elizabeth had been dealing with this question, she would have employed the at present unemployed of the leisured classes, got the interest of the few, and compelled the rest with a nod of her imperious head to do her will gratuitously ; just as she framed the poor law adminis-

[1] January 6, 1913.

tration, and her grandfather before her the Justices of the Peace, both of which survive to our own time. But we live in a different age, an age when even our members of parliament are denied the honour of serving their country without salary, when there is on foot an agitation for paid Justices, for similarly altering the Poor Law, and for the State to take over the management of the hospitals. There is to be no room left for private enterprise and private charity; all is to be done by a benevolent State, with benevolent (?) officials as the ministering angels. We are driving the moneyed and leisured classes to seek occupation in idle pleasure, so that we can curse them for their uselessness, and denounce "the idle rich" in our great "war against poverty"! And yet it is still true that the work done for the sake of honour, or for the personal interest taken in that work, is better done than when the salary attaching thereto is the motive power.

And so, if it be possible, we should endeavour to follow our past history, and

not our present, in this respect; it would save the country's pocket; it would possibly produce something better. I admit that at first sight such an aim seems hopeless; we cannot expect men for the sake of *honour* to become masters and instructors to the *canail!* Not alone, it is true; but I think it might be feasible to incorporate the amateur element with the professional, and so get some of the advantages of both.

We have something similar now in the management of the Boy Scouts and Boys' Brigades, where, however, I admit there is not sufficient of the professional element to ensure real efficiency. Also at the present time orphanages, and possibly some Industrial Schools, gain much from the interest taken in them, and the assistance given, by the philanthropic residents of the district in which they happen to be situated. I can see no reason why the same interest should not continue to be taken in the compulsory cadet corps and State training schools as heretofore has been taken in the voluntary ones,

unless it is that "where officials step in angels fear to tread"! At any rate, there would be no doubt a large number of religious organizations and other bodies, or private individuals, who, intent on their own particular foibles, would build and partly maintain schools; and would be content with a Government grant of about a quarter the cost of maintenance, which should certainly not be withheld, if only for the excellent reason of economy to the public purse.

I am here tempted to discourse on the petty wranglings which have so far prevented education from receiving its due attention. But, lest the scheme should lose supporters for the sake of private opinions only connected in a very small degree with the main proposition, I will content myself with the one remark that common sense points to the conclusion that, if these people are willing, for the sake of principles, to relieve the State or the rates of a large expenditure, then, so long as those principles are not actually pernicious, however much we disagree

with them, it were false economy and sheer folly, from the national standpoint, to starve them out of existence (whether by legislation or administration matters not), by denying them reasonable grants for the uncontroversial work they do. So I think we might well encourage private enterprise in this way, if for no higher motive than to save the taxpayers' pockets (which ultimately means those of the people at large).

Again, to the staff the same principles might be applied. Many undergraduates at the Universities find their vacations unduly tedious; and, especially if intended for the clergy or scholastic work, they would welcome an occupation which would give them a knowledge of men; they would take an interest in the work and play, and could take classes in different subjects, whilst carrying on their own studies; just as now many interest themselves in the various missions in London and elsewhere. Co-operation, if sought, would no doubt be extended on the part of the University and college authorities,

who would ensure only suitable men being granted the opportunity.

Besides this, as I have before suggested, the Territorial officers might very well be allowed to learn their work at the Training School, instead of in barracks, as at present. They would be under the authority of the "Head," and have the assistance of the non-coms., and the advantage of greater numbers with which to carry out military tactics. Besides, the atmosphere of a citizen army led by citizen officers, all trained together, would thus be gained later on in the Territorial Force, with the greater mutual understanding and sense of comradeship resulting; and this would, I think, lead to better results than if the same troops were led by officers trained as the Regulars, accustomed as they are to suppose a "great gulf fixed" between them and their men, even though these were inferior in knowledge of the game of war, which need not necessarily be the case. The citizen army, being presumably wanted only for home defence, may reasonably be sup-

posed to want different treatment from the Regulars; and from other non-military considerations, it would, as I previously mentioned, have the beneficial effect of bringing the classes into contact, and so go far to abolish snobbery on the one hand and servility on the other, which are usually the result of misunderstanding on each side of the merits of the other, and, by partly removing the causes, would abolish the insidious and nationally pernicious cry of "Down with the rich!" which can only go hand-in-hand with ignorance.

With these provisions for temporary help the schools should be amply staffed somewhat as follows:—

For a colony of 500 *boys*—[1]
Headmaster.
Chaplain.
5 Housemasters.
20 Instructors in various trades.
5 Sergeants and other non-commissioned officers of Regulars.
5 Matrons, Nurses, etc.

Of these, the Head should be a retired

[1] This seems to be the most suitable number.

Army man; the chaplain a broad-minded Churchman,[1] a man of religion, not doctrine; the housemasters, graduates of all-round athletic ability and scholarship; the non-coms. married; their wives might be the matrons. For domestic work there is no need to make provision, since different boys would be cooks, etc., in training, and orderly work would be done in turn, or as punishment for minor offences.

The possibilities for a school of this description might well fill a bulky volume and still not be exhausted. I have, however, given an outline only, in the hope rather of interesting the many who have previously not realized the importance of the subject than of arguing with the doctors. The "man in the street" is the all-important factor, from whom hitherto both the educational movement and the military have met with nothing but oppo-

[1] The old difficulty of sect may arise. But it is surmounted now in the Army itself; and, as a matter of fact at the Public Schools a similar arrangement holds, and many Nonconformist parents—maybe most conscientious passive-resisters—send their sons there.

sition, solely, I believe, because he was not convinced of their benefits; but, once he is persuaded that good will come from any course of action, he will not stint, but rather insist on the maximum benefits being achieved. This is a lesson drawn from our past history which, I think, our politicians [2] on both sides might well remember more often and act accordingly.

[1] Perhaps the tone of Lord Haldane's speech to the Teachers' Union on March 25, 1913, may give cause for hope that saner counsels are prevailing in the Liberal camp than have ruled in their last few legislative efforts; I refer to his remarks on the driving power of public opinion.

ARGUMENT

WE have on the one hand the National Service League advocating direct compulsory military service, and on the other the educational theorists and industrial leaders clamouring for a longer period of compulsory schooling and an industrial education. We have a Government which is so tied down by its supporters that it can certainly not carry out the requirements of the former; and in the case of the latter problem, legislation on the lines they propose to follow, viz. still more of the present useless system of *day-school* teaching, will satisfy no one, leading, as it must, to the old pitfall of religious difficulty, and giving no compensating advantages. Cannot these three parties be united to bring the Government to launch some such all-round scheme as that

outlined in the foregoing pages? Each one of their plans taken separately is undeniably unpopular in the country, and there is consequently little hope of any of them maturing, at least by anything approaching common agreement; whilst the single course, embracing as it does the objects of all, might appeal to a much larger section of the community.

1. My *military* argument is that compulsory training with efficient cadet corps up to the age of 18 is easier to enforce, and, whilst doing far more good and less harm in other respects, would be at least as valuable as the six months' continuous training between that age and 21, as is proposed by the League: and that the interest then aroused would naturally tend to aid recruiting to such an extent that all branches of the services [1] would, by ensuring only that subsequent enlistment in the voluntary second lines would entail no loss to individuals (whether employee or employer), be brought up to establish-

[1] Naval training-ships on similar lines could be provided as an alternative, so that the navy should also gain.

ment without resort to artificial means; and any required numbers and efficiency could be obtained for the Territorial Force, which would thenceforth have indefinite powers of expansion in time of trial. If, however, the event proved otherwise, we could still resort to compulsion after the age of 18 in the actual fighting force.

This should only be tried when other means had failed, and the electorate were convinced of its necessity. At present it is unpopular because :—

(*a*) It is un-English. If there is one thing we pride ourselves on, it is our liberty. "Britons never shall be slaves," means something more than not subject to foreign rule; it means that compulsion for a full citizen is, or should be, unheard of.

(*b*) Existing analogies to the National Service League proposals (the Special Reserve and Regular army training), show that it would threaten our industrial life : we should appear to throw away the substance and pursue the shadow. Moreover, the results of Conscription on the Continent are not encouraging, and show that individuality and character would suffer. We are not a military nation, and do not wish to enter the arena of European politics as such; feudalism, if it ever flourished in this country is too dead to be revived, and it would be retrogression to recreate a military bureaucracy, such

as obtains in Germany, where it is a constant menace to the peace of the world as well as to the true interests of that country.

(*c*) It would not be fair in its incidence, since the 40 or 50 per cent. exempted for medical and other reasons would, in commercial life, be at an advantage.

(*d*) It would tend to increase the army of unskilled labour, because it would cut up a man's industrial career.

(*e*) Historical arguments are almost entirely against it. For example, the lesson of the Restoration of 1660: the rule of the Puritans would have been bearable, had it not been identified with the rule of the army.

(*f*) An unnecessary large force would be created at an unnecessary large expense: it would be under military law, and although nominally only liable for home service and to resist possible invasion, it would be liable to be used for other less popular causes, as, for instance, in civil disputes, since it would only require the sanction of the "party hacks" then in power to make refusal to serve for *any* purpose equivalent to desertion, and punishable as such, under the military and not the civil code.

These arguments do not hold with a compulsory cadet corps system. Compulsion is good for *boys* and bad for *men*, of which latter only those who volunteered would be affected in peace time.

2. For *education*, I propose to give a minimum of a year at a boarding-school, where it is easier to train mind, body, and

soul in the way they should go, than at a day-school, where outside influences (which in most of the cases which would come under this part of the scheme are bad) have constantly to be reckoned with.

3. *Industrially*, I propose to teach the elements of a skilled trade, by way of replacing to some extent the decline in the apprentice system, and so increase the productive power of the country, more especially in agriculture, the present revival in which would seem to hold out opportunities in our own country (quite apart from the Colonies) for a much larger number of men skilled in that particular industry than heretofore. Agricultural education can alone supply the men to take advantage of the field opened up by co-operation; and from the national standpoint there can be no two opinions of the importance of this question.[1]

4. I claim that the scheme would go far to cure some of our *social* evils, child labour and crime, immorality, weakness of body and intellect.

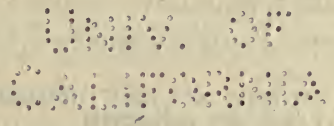
[1] *Vide* Duke of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Churchill.

5. I claim that the *cost* is not out of proportion to the result. It is in any case less than that necessary to carry out the schemes of the National Service League and of the educational reformers together. It is probably less than either, taken separately; since, as compared with the former, we have boys to consider instead of men, and we provide only an adequate paid army (the reserve, consisting of the entire manhood of the country, once the cadet training is finished, costing practically nothing); and, compared with the latter, the schools would be to a large extent self-supporting, so reducing annual outlay, and, being situated in the country, they would require less capital outlay.

So I appeal to the reformers. But they can do nothing without the electorate: and I also appeal to them to give the matter a thought. Is it not heartrending to see in our towns sturdy youngsters leaving school, entering the wage-earning class as errand-boys and newsboys, rapidly degenerating into wastrels, lounging at street corners, unskilled, untrained, not actually

criminal perhaps, but drifting in that direction step by step? Unemployed, they rapidly become unemployable, a drag on the community.

What is the cause of this state of affairs? Is it not largely lack of opportunity? I appeal to all, does not such a scheme as this bid fair to give that opportunity to all? More industrial efficiency, a real margin of military security, stronger and more capable citizens, fewer sores on the body corporate—these are objects worthy a far larger personal sacrifice than this scheme would require.



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